

Sunlight and Fresh Air:
Picturing Life in the Central-Hall Houses of Beirut, 1890-1920

Rachel Hooper
Application for Friends of Fondren Graduate Research Award

Semester paper originally written for Professor Shirine Hamadeh
Middle Eastern Cities-- - Space, Modernity, and Memory (1840-1945)
HART 528
December 14, 2011

Abstract

In the last thirty years of Ottoman rule in Beirut, Lebanon, a form of domestic architecture developed that became the ultimate status symbol for the burgeoning bourgeoisie of the city. This new type of dwelling came to be known as the central-hall house. Based on a historiography of this housing type, I will use recently published photographs from this same time period of 1890 to 1920 to reconsider three major design elements of the central-hall house: the triple arched window, plan of the central hall, and red tile roof in light of how these architectural features can be seen to be a part of the the inhabitants' lives. Based on photographic evidence, I will show that upper-class women were a touch point for changes and conversations taking place in the last thirty years of Ottoman rule in Beirut. New urban homes, educational opportunities, access to infrastructure, and conspicuous consumerism were a part of the lived reality of these women's day-to-day existence. By taking these socio-cultural factors into account, iconic features of the central-hall house offer a view of space, place, and gender in the early stages of modernization in city of Beirut, the area of Lebanon, and the greater Syrian geographic area.

Paper

A unique form of domestic architecture developed in Beirut, Lebanon in the last thirty years of its Ottoman rule that became the ultimate status symbol for the burgeoning bourgeoisie of the city. This new type of house, with its signature characteristics of three large arched windows, red tile roof, and boxy profile, made an indelible mark on the cityscape [Figure 1]. Over the last fifteen years, architectural historians have given special attention to this style of domestic architecture, which came to be known as the central-hall house.¹ Research on this architectural type is still preliminary and there have only been a few in-depth, English-language studies of specific examples.² At this point, most published scholarship on the central-hall house has focused on finding its origins and relating it to other traditional types of Lebanese architecture.³ Although these case studies and typologies have been crucial to laying the foundation for understanding the central-hall house, there is now enough evidence to stark asking new questions about this building type.⁴

Studies that have focused mostly on plans, elevations, and pinning down European and Ottoman influences on the central-hall house have presented the house primarily as a formal exercise in design elements. However, photographs of the homes' builders and residents that have recently become available through the Arab Image Foundation and Fouad Debbas Collection show quite a different lived reality to the buildings.⁵ Witnessing how the central-hall, in particular, was used and decorated at

1 The most comprehensive publications on the central-hall house are Michael F. Davie, Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003 and Akram Fouad Khater, *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.

2 Ralph Bodenstein, "Housing the Foreign: A European's Exotic Home in Late Nineteenth-Century Beirut," and Anne Mollenhauer, "The Central-Hall House: Regional Commonalities and Local Specificities: A Comparison Between Beirut and al-Salt," both in *Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber. Beirut: Verlag Wuerzburg, 2002.

3 See May Davie, "Maisons;" Davie with Nordiguian. "L'Habitat;" Davie, *Beyrouth*; Ghorayeb. "Sources;" Kfoury, "Maison;" Mollenhauer, "Reading;" and Saliba, "Genesis."

4 Toufoul Abou-Hodeib has started asking the sorts of questions I am thinking of in her consideration of the material aspects of the central-hall house, "Taste and Class in Late Ottoman Beirut." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (July 26, 2011): 476.

5 For a searchable database of the collection of the Arab Image Foundation, see <http://www.fai.org.lb/>, also Fouad Debbas, *Des photographes à Beyrouth, 1840-1918*. Paris: Marval, 2001, and *Beirut, Our Memory: Guided Tour Illustrated with*

the turn of the century through these photographs suggests that the design of the central-hall house was tied to socio-historical influences related to the modernization of the city at large-- such as growing concerns for health and hygiene, and access to municipal infrastructures of plumbing and gas lighting. Changes such as these were tied to the woman of the house as she was affected by and an agent in aspects of modernity like the prevalence of consumerism and imported goods, and the promotion of scientific education [Figures 2-9].⁶

Based on a historiography of central-hall houses in Beirut from 1890-1920, I will use photographic evidence to reconsider three major design elements of the central-hall house: the triple arched window, plan of the central hall, and red tile roof. Although more research is needed to draw any definitive conclusions, the juxtaposition of architectural features with photographs of how they were integrated into the inhabitants' lives does suggest a variety of preliminary hypotheses that would ask us to reconsider the form and function of these homes. As more photographs and examples of central-hall houses come to light and are preserved for further study, these two ways of looking at how people lived in late-Ottoman Beirut, through images and architecture, may prove to be invaluable resources for understanding the early stages of modernization in the city, Lebanon, and the greater Syrian geographic area.

Friedrich Ragette, who coined the term “central-hall house,” identified some common characteristics of this grand building type including the triple arcade window and its two floors with one major entrance to the main floor. As Ragette notes, the entrance in urban examples is typically located either below the triple arcade window, or in some cases, the triple window was adapted to become the main entrance to the house [Figures 2, 3, 5 (top), and 8].⁷ Perhaps because the central-hall

Picture Postcards. Garnet Publishing Limited, 1997.

6 These themes of beauty, hygiene, and order were being advocated for across the Ottoman Empire as part of early-nineteenth century Tanzimat reforms, see Zeynep Celik, *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986. For more on how Tanzimat reforms affected Beirut, see Davie, *Beyrouth*, 41-44.

7 Friedrich Ragette, *Architecture in Lebanon: The Lebanese House During the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Delmar, N.Y.:

house was so common in late-Ottoman Beirut, where it seems to have originated, scholars have tried to determine the primary influences on this type of architecture. Akram Khater traces the formation of the central-hall house back to Mount Lebanon, where he sees an emigrant adaptation of Beirut mansions that in turn were “an earlier extroversion of the Arab-Islamic interior, which dominated the mountain houses, with Italian and French material and ornamentation.”⁸ May Davie attributes the genesis of this type of house to the development of the traditional *dar*, which in turn was mixed with Ottoman and European influences from the Mediterranean region.⁹

Many writers have also interpreted the central-hall house as a symbol of national pride, modernism, westernization, indigenous expression, and secularization.¹⁰ From my perspective and research, the central-hall house is a marker of cosmopolitanism, not just in the worldly sense, but what Kwame Anthony Appiah calls a “conversation amongst cultures.”¹¹ A starting point for my thinking is Appiah's observation that “living cultures do not, in any case, evolve from purity into contamination; change is more a gradual transformation from one mixture into a new mixture, a process that usually takes place at some distance from rules and rulers, in the conversations that occur across cultural boundaries. Such conversations are not so much about arguments and values as about the exchange of

Caravan Books, 1980, 106.

- 8 Akram Khater, “Building Class: Emigration, The Central-Hall House, and the Construction of a Rural Middle Class in Lebanon, 1890-1914” in Michael F. Davie, Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003, 383. Nada Sehnaoui attributes the housing type primarily to Venetian influences, *L'Occidentalisation De La Vie Quotidienne À Beyrouth, 1860-1914*. [Beirut]: Editions Dar An-Nahar, 2002, 85.
- 9 May Davie, “Genese d'une demeure patrimoniale: la maison aux trois arcs de Beyrouth” in Michael F. Davie, Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003, 57-95.
- 10 Khater notes that many emigrants built the central-hall house on their return to Lebanon as a way to define their modernity and middle-class identity, “Building Class,” 371-372. Sehnaoui attributes the housing form to the gradual westernization of everyday life, “L'Occidentalisation,” 85-105. For more on the give and take between westernization and orientalizing in the central-hall form, see Bodenstein, “Housing,” 123-127. For more on the house as a national symbol see Davie, “Maison,” 343-370. I believe that Anne Mollenhauer emphasizes the secular nature of the house as she shows how it was adapted by both Muslims and Christians for their homes and was used for municipal buildings as well such as post offices, train stations, schools, etc., “Central,” 275-280.
- 11 Kwame Anthony Appiah, *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006.

perspectives.”¹²

Beirut was at the center of many transcultural conversations at the turn of the century. Starting in the 1860s, the Ottoman government and European merchants became deeply involved in the region, working together to expand trade through the port of Beirut and launching major infrastructure projects such as the expansion of the port, the construction of a rail line to Damascus, and the building of a tramway system to connect areas of the city.¹³ One of the most significant ways that the Ottoman government made their presence known architecturally was through progressive renovations and expansions of the Grand Serail, which they used as barracks, a hospital, a courthouse, and for other state functions. The Grand Serail was built on a hill on the edge of the old city overlooking the bazaar, and at a distance, the port. The style of the monumental building was a variation on the central-hall house with three arched windows used as the main entrance and above the doorway [Figure 10]. Indeed, this style helped the building blend into its surroundings as many of Beirut's elite were constructing large houses in the central-hall style around the Grand Serail, especially in the neighborhood to its southwest, Zokak el-Blat.

Some examples of central-hall houses still remain in this area to this day, and scattered though they may be, their orientation does give you a sense of what the landscape looked like at the turn of the century. Three houses, Qasr Heneiné, Dr. Hypolyte de Brun's home, and Qasr Mukayyesh do not face modern day streets.¹⁴ Instead, their facades look north toward the sea. This orientation makes sense when considering that in the early nineteenth century the surrounding area was primarily orchards with isolated houses.¹⁵ As the city's population boomed from around 10,000 in 1840 to 120,000 in 1900,

12 Appiah, “The Case for Contamination.” *New York Times*, January 1, 2006.

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/01/01/magazine/01cosmopolitan.html?pagewanted=all>

13 For more on these modernization projects, see Jens Hanssen, *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005, and Brant Downes, Ph. D. Dissertation, “Constructing the modern Ottoman waterfront: Salonica and Beirut in the late nineteenth century,” <http://gradworks.umi.com/32/92/3292344.html>.

14 See Map A in Hans Gebhardt, *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak El-Blat*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 97. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2005.

15 For more on the development of Beirut beyond the city walls, see May Davie, *Beyrouth Et Ses Faubourgs (1840-1940): Une integration inachevee*. Les cahiers du CERMOC; no 15.; Collection des etudes urbaines; Beyrouth: Centre

wealthy notables looked to escape the crowded city by building large villas amidst the orchards and gardens outside the city walls.¹⁶

The northern facing homes of the elite meant that the tripartite windows at their entrances would capture northern light and open to a sea breeze. In fact, one of the most striking features of photographs of the central-hall is the light streaming through the window, reflecting off of the marble floors, white plaster walls, and large mirrors placed around the room [Figures 2, 3, and 5 (top)].¹⁷ Perhaps the strong light was necessary photographically to illuminate the large room so every detail could be captured. However, certain texts and historical events suggest that the light was more than just a practical necessity for the photograph as it held strong symbolic associations with health and wealth.

Until the late nineteenth century, many diseases were believed to be caused by bad air. This miasma theory held that proper ventilation and lighting of rooms could prevent disease. Beirut was beset by cholera pandemics in 1865 and 1875 that overcame the city's historic quarantine and caused widespread concern for hygiene and increased promotion of scientific education.¹⁸ Health crises such as these coincided with the building of large well-lit homes by the wealthy outside the city, which begs the question: Did the cholera outbreaks in late nineteenth century Beirut influence the adoption of the large three-bay window in the urban central-hall home? More research needs to be conducted in scientific journals that were published in Beirut at that time, in which I suspect many residents of central-hall homes, i.e. wealthy elites, may have been writing, as well as lectures on health that were delivered in the very neighborhood where many of these homes were being built, at the American Protestant Mission in northwest Zokak el-Blat, to draw any definite conclusions. However, the strong light in photographs of the central-hall suggest that flushing out this connection with more research might yield

d'études et de recherches sur le Moyen-Orient contemporain, 1996.

16 Bodenstein, "Housing," 106.

17 For more on aspects of the central-hall decoration that caught and enhanced light, see Abou-Hodeib, *Authentic*, 196-198.

18 Hanssen, *Fin*, 119.

some interesting results.¹⁹

Other aspects of the central-hall house may have also related to concerns about health and hygiene-- namely its centralized plan. The kitchen and latrine of the central-hall house were often placed at the corner of the ground floor, where they could connect to the sewer line. This sort of plumbing infrastructure first became available to newly constructed neighborhoods such as Zokak el-Blat that were being built outside the old city walls [Figure 11].²⁰ The name “Zokak el-Blat” means paved street, and many members of the Beirut Municipal Council, which oversaw the modernization of the city's infrastructure, lived in this neighborhood.²¹ Gas lighting along the streets was another municipal project that became a desirable luxury in urban neighborhoods and within the wealthiest private homes. Perhaps this association with prosperity accounts for the prominence of a silhouetted gas chandelier in most photographs of central-hall interiors [Figures 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, and 9].²²

Beyond access to luxury, these infrastructure modernization projects affected the upper bourgeoisie in even more profound and complex ways, particularly in the case of women of the house. As Toufoul Abou-Hodeib has noted in her research on Beirut journals and Hanafi court records, women were expected to be informed managers of the house in terms of housework, morality, and health.²³ An article in the Beirut-based scientific journal *al-Muqtataf* offered some straightforward advice to women for how to keep the family healthy: “If asked what is the most important thing to

19 This would be similar to the type of research that Toufoul Abou-Hodeib has done, but with a particular emphasis on health concerns. Some issues of *Al-Muktataf* are available on Google Books at http://books.google.com/books?id=a1_NAAAAMAAJ&dq=al-muktataf&pg=RA1-PR69#v=onepage&q=al-muktataf&f=false. Some quotes from the journal are translated into English in Marwa Elshakry, “American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut,” *Past and Present* 196 (August 2007): 199-20.

20 Abou-Hodeib, *Authentic Modern: Domesticity and the Emergence of a Middle Class Culture in Late Ottoman Beirut* - ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT) - ProQuest, n.d. <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/pqdtft/docview/822626753/abstract/131E93D614032D9BE1/1?accountid=7064>, 83-84.

21 Ralph Bodenstein, “The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat: A History of the Urban Fabric” in Gebhardt, Hans. *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak El-Blat*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 97. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2005, 50.

22 For more on the often contentious negotiations between the Beirut gas company and municipal council see “The Intermediary Bourgeoisie and Municipal Politics” in Hanssen, *Fin*, 138-161 and Downes, “Constructing.”

23 Abou-Hodeib, “Taste,” 475-492.

every home, we would say sunlight and fresh air. If asked what is the most beneficial for every man, we would say sunlight and fresh air. If asked what is the cheapest thing in the world, we would say sunlight and fresh air.”²⁴ This connection between morality, health, and domestic interiors prompts another fascinating question-- did the traditional concept of protecting the woman as the pure, sacred center of the home find a secular equivalent in the modern discourse on hygiene, where women were likewise the source of the health and well-being of the household?²⁵

It is tempting when considering this question to take a confessional approach and try to specifically define the perspective of certain religious groups on women and the home, for example looking at the harem in Islam and the importance of motherhood in Christian moral education. But the more one digs into the primary sources, the more one finds that there are a variety of nuanced perspectives on this issue that do not exactly divide along religious or sectarian lines. Religious groups such as Maronites and Sunni Muslims were not isolated onto themselves, but returning to Appiah's point, were in conversation with one another and in disagreement amongst themselves within their respective groups.²⁶ Still, there does seem to be some conceptual overlaps across religious lines between women's role in the home, the patterns of their social life, and their role in the larger public sphere.

Nada Sehnaoui believes that the windows of the modern, late-Ottoman urban home came to replace the screens that traditionally protected the section of the home where women lived.²⁷ Indeed, photographs of central-hall interiors show that the upper parts of the tripartite windows often included intricate interlocking geometric designs much like one would find in a traditional screen [Figures 3 and 9]. The traditional Ottoman screen, or *mashrabaya*, was typically carved from wood with openings that

24 Abou-Hodeib, *Authentic*, 84.

25 Cultural values were replaced with something secular, a new “cultural value” of health that determined the shape of the home, Sehnaoui, *L'Occidentalisation*, 87.

26 May Davie also has noted that neighborhoods and guilds comprised people of multiple faiths, *Beyrouth*, 23-24.

27 Sehnaoui, *L'Occidentalisation*, 97.

radiated outward in such a way that women could look out of the female section of the house onto the public or male section without being seen themselves.²⁸ Needless to say, windows did not serve the same concealing function, especially at night, and thus they might be a nice metaphor for the more permeable boundaries between women in the home and the city that surrounded them. For even as women's lives were still tied to the home, there is evidence that they began to take on a more public role through their authority in the domestic sphere.

In fact, the plan of the central-hall itself might also serve as a metaphor for the woman's role as manager of the house. In a typical central-hall house, all of the rooms opened onto the center hall but not necessarily onto each other [Figure 12]. The hall thereby controlled all of the communication between the rooms and interfaced with all of the activities of the house. (The three large windows at the entrance were therefore a practical necessity since all of the other walls of the central-hall would have doors to the adjoining rooms.) The hall itself was also a multi-purpose space that could be used as a public reception area [Figure 7], private family gathering space [Figure 5 (bottom)], or dining room for large dinners [Figure 13].

The notion that women were responsible for managing the household was tied to ideas that could at times be at odds with each other-- that a woman's proper place is the home and an advocacy for women's education.²⁹ Women had to be updated on the latest scientific developments in order to know how to best safeguard her family from disease. In fact, the Protestant scientific journal *al-Muqtataf* was one of the earliest publications with regular contributions by women, who were usually featured in their section on home management.³⁰ Khater summarized the debate women writers had in this journal in this way, "While some wrote in rhapsodic tones about the 'house,' others rejected it as a

28 Ibid., 86-88.

29 See Khater, "'House' to 'Goddess of the House': Gender, Class, and Silk in 19th-Century Mount Lebanon." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 3 (August 1996): 334-340, and Ellen Fleischmann, "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860-1950." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002): 419-422.

30 Abou-Hodeib, "Taste," 479.

prison for women that would leave them powerless and that would keep society and the 'nation' from progressing”³¹ Amidst this debate, women were far from paralyzed by the contradictions and took an active role in public health, as a photograph of a society to prevent tuberculosis shows, where it looks like nearly half the members are women and from the cross it would seem Christian affiliated [Figure 14].

Simply the fact that women were writing in newspapers where previously they had been entirely excluded is evidence that as women became more educated they were able to take a greater role in public life.³² The controversial role that the American Protestant Mission, located in the northeast corner of Zokak el-Blat, played in the education of women has been much debated in recent scholarship.³³ American Protestant missions were the first to educate girls.³⁴ However, their education was still specifically geared toward household management, and there was often a religious and evangelical subtext to the instruction as Christian, western women were upheld as models of modernization to show the benefits of adopting a “western” (read Christian) lifestyle.³⁵

In 1872, the American missionary, Reverend Henry Jessup, bemoaned the lack of a “sanctified and enlightened female influence” in Beirut equal to that in the United States where its “beneficent action was seen in the proper training of children.”³⁶ Ellen Fleischmann points out that Reverend Jessup's statement was tied to the notion that “if they could not make actual Christians out of the heathen, they could at least instill Christian values in society as a first step which might eventually lead

31 Khater, *Inventing*, 149.

32 Khater has noted that publications were women's primary entrance into public life after 1890s, *Inventing*, 148.

33 Khater, “A Woman's Boundaries” in *Inventing*, 146-177; Fleischmann, “Impact,” 419-422; and Christine Lindner, “Problematizing the Modern: An Exploration of the Homes and Family Arrangements for the American Protestant Missionaries and Syrian Protestants in Ottoman Syria from 1823 to 1860” in *Proceedings of Graduate Workshop: New Directions in Studies of the Arab World*, ed. Sacko Yazaki, University of Edinburgh, 13-14 September 2007 and “The Flexibility of Home: Exploring the Spaces and Definitions of the Home and Family Employed by the ABCFM Missionaries in Ottoman Syria from 1823 to 1860” in *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, ed. Mehmet Ali dogan and Heather J. Sharkey. Salt Lake City: Salt Lake City Press, 2010.

34 Khater, *Inventing*, 135.

35 Christine Lindner, *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2009.

36 Fleischmann, “Impact,” 412-413.

toward more direct evangelization.”³⁷ A similar attitude is reflected in the writings of Julia Tu'ma Dimashqiyya, a Lebanese Protestant, who was educated by the American mission and became director of the Maqasud Islamic School for Girls in Beirut in 1910.³⁸ In a speech given at the Greek Orthodox Society, Dimashqiyya called the traditional *bayt* “the miserable hut, if you wish. One room with a kitchen to its side. The abode of the family of which you are at the center. The home whose management has been given to you and the little kingdom over which God made you queen.” Instead, she advocated that women make a “home,” which using the English word she described as “a shelter for the woman, a place of jollity of the man, a promenade for the father, and a pasture of well-being and joy for the children.”³⁹

It was not until the early twentieth century that Muslim philanthropic societies such as the Arab Girl's Awakening and Benevolent Society for Muslim Girls gave voice to women from leading Muslim families in Beirut.⁴⁰ Societies such as these would often convene within women's homes where they would discuss literature and charity and hold educational sessions, some examples of which can be seen in photographs from the Arab Image Foundation [Figures 15 and 16].⁴¹ Anisa al-Shartouni described one of these meetings in an editorial: “Discussions of it [the equality of men and women] have become numerous at social gatherings at houses, and there appeared many proponents of the woman who have demanded equating her with the man thinking that in her status, familiar from the beginning of time, she has been beneath the man. In fact, there occurred in front of me a discussion between two educated ladies who went so far as to conclude that woman should have the same rights in government posts as that of a man.”⁴² As Magda Nammour has observed, educated feminists with

37 Ibid.

38 Abou-Hodeib, “Taste,” 489.

39 Ibid., 479.

40 Ibid., 479-480.

41 Magda Nammour, “L'Image de la femme occidentale dans la press Libanaise entre 1858 et 1914,” in Bernard Heyberger and Carsten Walbinder. *Les Européens vus par les Libanais à l'époque ottomane*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 74. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2002, 154.

42 Khater, *Inventing*, 148.

education started to see the potential to secure certain rights.⁴³ Many early twentieth century feminists in Beirut sprang from these literary salons and educational groups including Maryana Marresh and Maryam Nimr Makariyus.⁴⁴ Photographs such as Figure 16 also indicate that these educational groups were diverse as there are women with and without veils, although one cannot make any definite conclusions as to what sort of diversity this is (different religions? or traditional and modern?) because then as today Muslim women held a variety of opinions about wearing the veil.

Young women not only carved out a space for education within their homes but eventually in formal education as well. Those who were educated at places like the girls' school at the American Protestant mission were able to work at the school as teachers, which was one of the first professions available to women.⁴⁵ In this way, more and more schools were able to be established, and many of these were located in Zokak el-Blat.⁴⁶ In fact, many of the central-hall houses were eventually converted to schools, including Dr. de Brun's home, which became the Lycée Abdel Kader [Figure 5].⁴⁷ Another image from the Arab Image Foundation shows students lined up outside of a central-hall home that had been converted to a school [Figure 17]. The sheer numbers of students give one an idea of the immense scale of a building that was once a home, and the orderly lines of students lined up in the courtyard are reminiscent of the photographs that Sultan Abdulhamid sent to the Library of Congress, which makes one wonder how widespread these conventions of school photography were at the time.

As women's lives became centered in the hall in the middle of the home, where we have some evidence that they gathered for educational groups and managed the day-to-day life of the household, they shifted the location and nature of their traditional domestic activities. Traditionally, women often

43 Nammour, "L'Image," 143.

44 Nammour, "L'Image," 150-151.

45 Lindner, *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2009, 202-204.

46 Jens Hanssen, "The Birth of an Education Quarter: Zokak el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World" in Hans Gebhardt, ed. *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak El-Blat*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 97. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2005.

47 See Hanssen, "Birth," also Bodenstein, "Making and Remaking" 58-60.

worked outside the home-- fetching water, farming, or buying and selling goods in the market. Many of these activities did not occur in a modern, urban household, so the spaces where these traditional tasks took place, generally in courtyards or on flat roofs, were no longer necessary.⁴⁸

In addition to the three bay window, the most prominent external marker of the central-hall house is its red tile roof. Sometimes called the “fez” of a building, the red roof became the signature feature of Beirut's skyline in the late-Ottoman period [Figure 1].⁴⁹ As Khater has noted, one million red tiles came through the Beirut port from France in 1887, and by 1911 over five million tiles were being imported to roof prominent buildings in Beirut and the surrounding mountain villages.⁵⁰ Demand for the red tiles in Beirut and the surrounding mountains became so great that, as Abou-Hodeib has found, local factories were eventually built to produce roof and floor tiles.⁵¹ Contemporary discourse on women in the home suggests a third question-- did presence of the red roof also signify a modern spacial and functional change in the lives of women who lived in these homes?

Even as upper class women in central-hall homes remained, for the most part, sheltered within their homes in late-Ottoman Beirut, managing their family's health and social life from the center of the home, their new large home also necessitated more interaction with public spaces in the city in order to purchase items to display in the central hall. Khater has argued that the central-hall home further isolated women as it created strictly private spaces and did not allow for as many activities outside the home as a traditional house.⁵² While it may be true that women's lives became more concentrated in the home, as discussed above, this does not mean that they did not have a public role. Indeed, the house itself became a center for social functions, such as educational groups, that extended beyond the family.

48 Khater argues that these changes differentiated the middle-class from the peasant class that still needed these spaces for their work and worked outside the home as well, “House,” 326.

49 Alamuddin R.I.B.A, Hana. “The Lebanese House...” in *Beiteddine Festival Program*, 1996.
www.almimariya.com/images/lebanese_house.pdf, 9.

50 Khater, “Building,” 385.

51 Abou-Hodeib “Taste,” 489, footnote16.

52 Khater, “House,” 341.

Furthermore, Khater is specifically referring to rural, middle class women. Urban, upper class women would have had servants to run many of the extra-domicile domestic activities such as going to market or fetching water even in a traditional home. So perhaps, in this case, the red roof indicates a movement of the servants' activities from the roof to the ground floor.

Where the central-hall did spur on women to leave the house and go to town was in the decoration of its large central reception room. Women most likely regularly got in their horse drawn carriages or later their cars to the market or department store in town.⁵³ Women's educational magazines and speeches imply that excessive consumption by the upper class was a growing trend in that they place a premium on cultivating good taste, which often meant avoiding excessive consumption in favor of tasteful, quality purchases.⁵⁴ *Dhawq* (taste, ذوق) was related to the upper class concept of *adab* (good manners, أدب).⁵⁵ As such, the decoration of a home was an expression of class. As Abou-Hodeib notes, "The home-- including both its structure and its contents-- not only *signified* a social standing but also played a role in recasting and articulating class differences."⁵⁶ Displaying imported goods became a way to proclaim your financial success.⁵⁷

The sectioned rooms of a central-hall home required western-style furniture such as tables, chairs, iron beds, and couches.⁵⁸ In traditional homes, a courtyard or large room would have couches and serve as a sitting and dining room. Mattresses would be brought out at night to make it into a

53 See Abou-Hodeib, "Taste," 483 and Elizabeth B. Frierson, "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late-Ottoman Society" in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922*. ed. Donald Quatert. New York: State University of New York Press, 2000. Like Abou Hodeib, I question the assumption that the central-hall radically separated private from public, *Authentic*, 95. Khater sees the central-hall as more of an enclosed private feminine domain, *Inventing*, 147. Although he has done some great research on how women participated in public ceremonies 162-167.

54 Abou-Hodeib, "Taste" 476, 481, and Sehnoui, *L'Occidentalisation*, 125.

55 Abou-Hodeib, "Taste," 480.

56 Ibid., 476.

57 Abou-Hodeib, *Authentic*, 207-208, and Khater "Building," 386-389.

58 Abou-Hodeib, "Things at Home" in *Authentic*, 172- 225.

bedroom.⁵⁹ In the central-hall house, bedrooms and dining rooms were often separate rooms with their own distinct types of furniture. Imports of western furniture were made possible by the newly constructed port and railway, and the Beiruti elite took pride in having fashionable European furniture, grand pianos, and elaborate bird cages for example, as can be seen in photographs of their homes [Figures 3-9].⁶⁰

Indeed, the photographs themselves became a favorite purchase for the home which allowed women to self-determine to a certain extent their image and that of their home. In this way, they displayed themselves for others to admire and to record family legacies, examples of which can be seen on the wall in the photograph of Caroline El-Khoury [Figure 4] and in the photograph album in the lap of Mrs. de Brun [Figure 5].⁶¹ Although photography had European origins, by the turn of the century, most photographers in Beirut were Ottoman.⁶² They would advertise in the local newspapers that their photographs were specifically for “decorating homes and the reception hall,”⁶³ and the photographs became so popular that the number of photographs proportional to the wealth of the home.⁶⁴

Returning to the photograph of Caroline El-Khoury and her daughters sitting on couches in front of a wall of photographs, some of the photographs on the wall show mothers and children, women in profile portraits, and people posed in and in front of their house [Figure 4]. In this way, women were displayed as symbols of status and modernity as much as the houses in which they sat, and the picture they presented was as perfect and idealized as it could be.⁶⁵ From her elaborate, European style dresses

59 Sancar, *Ottoman*, 47.

60 Mollenhauer, “Continuity” 113.

61 Sehnaoui, *L'Occidentalisation*, 120-121, and Nancy Micklewright, “Late Ottoman Photography: Family, Home, and New Identities” in *Transitions in Domestic Consumption and Family Life in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Relli Shechter. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.

62 Abou-Hodeib, *Authentic*, 199.

63 *Ibid.*, 200.

64 Sehnaoui, *L'Occidentalisation*, 120-121.

65 I agree with Abou-Hodeib that this is a weakness of a study of central-hall houses, or photography for that matter. They present an entirely idealized view of bourgeois domesticity that rests on rhetoric rather than a more visceral, conflicting reality, *Authentic*, 24. More information on how the owners of central-hall houses acquired their wealth or interacted with other classes might open this study up to more tensions and the often brutal reality of what it takes to create and maintain social status.

to the fashionable way she wore her hair to her level of education and the way she ran the house, women in their homes became the symbol of modernization. As Abou-Hodeib has observed: “The full range of activities a wife was expected to undertake, from preparing the needs of the home to raising children, could now be understood as part of her larger role as a modern woman.”⁶⁶

In conclusion, the photographs from Debbas, the Arab Image Foundation, and other sources help us see that upper-class women were a touch point for changes and conversations taking place in the last thirty years of Ottoman rule in Beirut. New urban homes, educational opportunities, access to infrastructure, and conspicuous consumerism were a part of the lived reality of these women's day-to-day existence. In taking these socio-cultural factors into account, features of the central-hall house that once were iconic-- the triple arcade window, centralized plan, and red roof-- can be seen as pieces that come together to form a larger picture of space, place, and gender. For as Doreen Massey has observed, “space and place, spaces and places, and our senses of them (and such related things as our degrees of mobility) are gendered through and through . . . And this gendering of space and place both reflects *and has effects back on* the ways in which gender is constructed and understood.”⁶⁷ Indeed, a juxtaposition of photographs and architecture of central-hall homes can help us better understand the ways these spaces articulate the patterns of daily life in the time and place where they were built.

66 Abou-Hodeib, *Authentic*, 83.

67 Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994, 186.

Bibliography

- Abdel Nour, Antoine. "Types architecturaux et vocabulaire de l'habitat en Syrie aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles" in *L'espace social de la ville arabe*, Chevallier D. édit., Paris, Maisonneuve et Larose, 1979.
- Abou-Hodeib, Toufoul. *Authentic Modern: Domesticity and the Emergence of a Middle Class Culture in Late Ottoman Beirut* - ProQuest Dissertations & Theses (PQDT) - ProQuest, n.d.
<http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.rice.edu/pqdtft/docview/822626753/abstract/131E93D614032D9BE1/1?accountid=7064>.
- _____. "Taste and Class in Late Ottoman Beirut." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 43 (July 26, 2011): 475-492.
- Akarli, Engin Deniz. "Ottoman Attitudes Towards Lebanese Emigration, 1885-1910" in Albert Hourani and Nadim Shehadi ed. *The Lebanese in the World: A Century of Emigration*. London: I.B. Tauris, 1992.
- Alamuddin R.I.B.A, Hana. "The Lebanese House..." in *Beiteddine Festival Program*, 1996.
www.almimariya.com/images/lebanese_house.pdf
- Antonius, Soraya. *Architecture in Lebanon*. Beirut: Heidelberg Press, 1965.
- Appiah, Kwame Anthony. *Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers*. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006.
- _____. "The Case for Contamination." *New York Times*, January 1, 2006.
- Bodenstein, Ralph. "Housing the Foreign: A European's Exotic Home in Late Nineteenth-Century Beirut" in Hanssen, Jens, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber. *The Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 88. Würzburg: Ergon in Kommission, 2002.
- _____, Jens Hanssen, Bernhard Hillenkamp, Olivier Kogler, Anne Mollenhauer, and Friederike Stolleis. "Walking through Zokak el-Blat: A Rhythmanalysis of the Quarter" in Hans Gebhardt ed., *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak El-Blat*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 97. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2005.
- _____. "The Making and Remaking of Zokak el-Blat: A History of the Urban Fabric" in Hans Gebhardt, ed. *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak El-Blat*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 97. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg: Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2005.
- Buheiry, Marwan R. "The Camera-Eye in Nineteenth-Century Lebanon" in *The Formation and Perception of the Modern Arab World*. Princeton: The Darwin Press, 1989.
- Campo, Juan Eduardo. *The Other Sides of Paradise: Explorations into the Religious Meanings of Domestic Space in Islam*. Studies in comparative religion; Studies in comparative religion (Columbia, S.C.). Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.
- Celik, Zeynep. *The Remaking of Istanbul: Portrait of an Ottoman City in the Nineteenth Century*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1986.
- Davie, May. "Maisons traditionnelles de Beyrouth" - Volume I, n.d.
<http://almashriq.hiof.no/lebanon/900/902/MAY-Davie/maisons-I/html/whole.html>
- _____, and Levon Nordiguan. "L'Habitat de Bayrut Al-Qadimat," *Beyrutus: Archaeological Studies*, Vol. 35, 1987, 165-197.
- _____. *Beyrouth Et Ses Faubourgs (1840-1940): Une integration inachevee*. Les cahiers du CERMOC; no 15.; Collection des etudes urbaines; Beyrouth: Centre d'etudes et de recherches sur le Moyen-Orient contemporain, 1996.

- _____. "Genese d'une demeure patrimoniale: la maison aux trois arcs de Beyrouth" in Michael F. Davie, Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003.
- _____. *Beyrouth et ses Faubourgs (1840-1940): Une Integration Inachevée*. Beirut: Centre d'Etudes et de Recherches sur le Moyen-Orient Contemporain, 1996.
- Davie, Michael F, "La 'maison aux trois arcs' de Beyrouth, une construction patrimoniale idéologique" in Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003.
- Davis, Fanny. *The Ottoman Lady: A Social History from 1718 to 1918*. Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1986.
- Debbas, Fouad. *Des photographes à Beyrouth, 1840-1918*. Paris: Marval, 2001.
- _____. *Beirut, Our Memory: Guided Tour Illustrated with Picture Postcards*. Garnet Publishing Limited, 1997.
- Deringil, Selim. "The Invention of Tradition as Public Image in the Late Ottoman Empire, 1808 to 1908." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35, no. 1 (January 1, 1993): 3-29.
- Downes, Brant. "Constructing the modern Ottoman waterfront: Salonica and Beirut in the late nineteenth century," n.d. <http://gradworks.umi.com/32/92/3292344.html>.
- El-Khoury, Fouad. *Domestic Architecture in the Lebanon*. London: Art and Archeology Research Papers, 1975.
- Elshakry, Marwa. "American Evangelism in Late Ottoman Beirut." *Past and Present* 196 (August 2007): 173-214.
- Ersoy, Ahmet. "Architecture and the Search for Ottoman Origins in the Tanzimat Period," in Architecture, Aga Khan Program for Islamic. *Muqarnas: an annual on the visual culture of the Islamic world*. BRILL, 2007.
- Exertzoglou, Haris. "The Cultural Uses of Consumption: Negotiating Class, Gender, and Nation in the Ottoman Urban Centers during the 19th Century." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 35, no. 1 (February 1, 2003): 77-101.
- Fawaz, Leila. "The City and the Mountain: Beirut's Political Radius in the Nineteenth Century as Revealed in the Crisis of 1860." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 16, no. 4 (November 1, 1984): 489-495.
- _____. *Merchants and Migrants in Nineteenth Century Beirut*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- Feghali, Michel. "Notes sur la maison libanaise" in *Melanges Rene Basset*, Publications de L'institut des Hautes-Etudes Marocaines, Vol. 10, 1923.
- Fleischmann, Ellen. "The Impact of American Protestant Missions in Lebanon on the Construction of Female Identity, c. 1860-1950." *Islam and Christian-Muslim Relations* 13, no. 4 (2002): 411-426.
- _____. *The Nation and Its "New" Women: The Palestinian Women's Movement, 1920-1948*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.
- Frierson, Elizabeth B. "Cheap and Easy: The Creation of Consumer Culture in Late-Ottoman Society" in *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922*. ed. Donald Quatert. New York: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- Ghorayeb, Marlene. "Aux sources de la modernité de Beyrouth, 1860-1940" *Environmental Design*:

- Journal of the Islamic Environmental Design Research Centre* 1-2 (1994-95): 122-29.
- Göçek, Fatma Muge. *Rise of the Bourgeoisie, Demise of Empire: Ottoman Westernization and Social Change*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996.
- Haller, Douglas M. *In Arab Lands: The Bonfils Collection of the University of Pennsylvania Museum*. Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 2000.
- Hanssen, Jens. "Your Beirut Is On My Desk' Ottomanizing Beirut under Sultan Abdulhamid II" in Rowe, Peter G, and Hashim Sarkis. *Projecting Beirut: Episodes in the Construction and Reconstruction of a Modern City*. Munich; New York: Prestel, 1998.
- _____. *Fin de Siècle Beirut: The Making of an Ottoman Provincial Capital*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005.
- _____. "Public Morality and Marginality in *Fin de siècle Beirut*" in Rogan, Eugene L, and European Science Foundation. *Outside in: On the Margins of the Modern Middle East*. The Islamic Mediterranean; 3. London; New York: I.B. Tauris; Strasbourg, France: In association with the European Science Foundation; New York.
- _____. "The Birth of an Education Quarter: Zokak el-Blat as a Cradle of Cultural Revival in the Arab World" in Hans Gebhardt, ed. *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak El-Blat*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 97. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2005.
- Imamoglu, Vacit. "Transformation of Courtyard Type Houses to Central-Hall Type in the Town of Kayseri" in Davie, Michael F, Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003.
- Jalabert, Henri. "Beyrouth sous les Ottomans: 1516-1918" in *Beirut: Crossroads of Cultures*. Beirut: Librairie du Liban, 1970.
- Kassir, Samir. *Beirut*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2010.
- Kfoury, Semaan. "La Maison a Hall Central au Liban: Origines, Influences, Identities" in Davie, Michael F, Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003.
- Khater, Akram Fouad. *Inventing Home: Emigration, Gender, and the Middle Class in Lebanon, 1870-1920*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001.
- _____. "'House' to 'Goddess of the House': Gender, Class, and Silk in 19th-Century Mount Lebanon." *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 28, no. 3 (August 1996): 325-348.
- _____. "Building Class: Emigration, The Central-Hall House, and the Construction of a Rural Middle Class in Lebanon, 1890-1914" in Michael F. Davie, Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d'études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d'études sur l'urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003.
- Khoueiry, Victor A. "Lebanese Domestic Vernacular" *ArchitectureWeek* Page C1.2 . 06 March 2002.
- Lemke, Wolf-Dieter. "Ottoman Photography: Recording and Contributing to Modernity" in *Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber. Beirut: Verlag Wuerzburg, 2002.
- Lindner, Christine Beth. *Negotiating the Field: American Protestant Missionaries in Ottoman Syria, 1823 to 1860*. Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2009.
- _____. "Problematising the Modern: An Exploration of the Homes and Family Arrangements for the

- American Protestant Missionaries and Syrian Protestants in Ottoman Syria from 1823 to 1860” in *Proceedings of Graduate Workshop: New Directions in Studies of the Arab World*, ed. Sacko Yazaki, University of Edinburgh, 13-14 September 2007.
- _____. “The Flexibility of Home: Exploring the Spaces and Definitions of the Home and Family Employed by the ABCFM Missionaries in Ottoman Syria from 1823 to 1860” in *American Missionaries and the Middle East: Foundational Encounters*, ed. Mehmet Ali dogan and Heather J. Sharkey. Salt Lake City: Salt Lake City Press, 2010.
- Makdisi, Ussama. “After 1860: Debating Religion, Reform, and Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Vol. 34, No. 4 (Nov., 2002), pp. 601-617.
- Makhzoumi, Jala and Reem Zako. “The Beirut Dozen: Traditional Domestic Garden as Spatial and Cultural Mediator” *Proceedings, 6th International Space Syntax Symposium, İstanbul, 2007*.
- Massey, Doreen. *Space, Place, and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1994.
- Micklewright, Nancy. “Late Ottoman Photography: Family, Home, and New Identities” in *Transitions in Domestic Consumption and Family Life in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Reli Shechter. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Mollenhauer, Anne. “Continuity and Change in the Architectural Development of Zokak El-Blat” in Hans Gebhardt, ed. *History, Space and Social Conflict in Beirut: The Quarter of Zokak El-Blat*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 97. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2005.
- _____. “The Central-Hall House: Regional Commonalities and Local Specificities: A Comparison Between Beirut and al-Salt” in *Empire in the City: Arab Provincial Capitals in the Late Ottoman Empire*, ed. Jens Hanssen, Thomas Philipp, and Stefan Weber. Beirut: Verlag Wuerzburg, 2002.
- _____. “Reading Late-Ottoman Architecture: Exterior Expression and Interior Organization of Central-Hall Houses between Beirut and Lattakia” in Michael F. Davie, Académie libanaise des beaux-arts, and Centre d’études et de recherches URBAMA (France). *La Maison Beyrouthine Aux Trois Arcs: Une Architecture Bourgeoise Du Levant*. Beyrouth: Académie libanaise des beaux-arts; Tours: Centre de recherches et d’études sur l’urbanisation du monde arabe, 2003.
- Nammour, Magda. “L’Image de la femme occidentale dans la press Libanaise entre 1858 et 1914,” in Bernard Heyberger and Carsten Walbinder. *Les Européens vus par les Libanais à l’époque ottomane*. Beirut: Texte und Studien, ISSN0067-4931; Bd. 74. Beirut: Orient-Institut; Würzburg Ergon Verlag in Kommission, 2002.
- Quataert, Donald, and Inc NetLibrary. *Consumption Studies and the History of the Ottoman Empire, 1550-1922 [electronic Resource]: An Introduction*. SUNY series in the social and economic history of the Middle East. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000.
- _____. *The Ottoman Empire, 1700-1922*. Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Ragette, Friedrich. *Architecture in Lebanon: The Lebanese House During the 18th and 19th Centuries*. Delmar, N.Y.: Caravan Books, 1980.
- Russell, Mona. “Modernity, National Identity, and Consumerism: Visions of the Egyptian Home, 1805-1922” in *Transitions in Domestic Consumption and Family Life in the Modern Middle East*, ed. Reli Shechter. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Saliba, Robert, and SOLIDERE (Firm). *Beirut City Center Recovery: The Foch-Allenby and Etoile Conservation Area*. Göttingen: Steidl, 2004.
- _____. *Beirut 1920-1940: Domestic Architecture Between Tradition and Modernity / Assaf, Michel*. Beirut: Order of Engineers and Architects, 1998.
- _____. “The Genesis of Modern Architecture in Beirut, 1840-1940” in *Architecture Re-introduced: New Projects in Societies in Change*. Jamal Abed (ed). Geneva: The Aga Khan Award for

- Architecture, 2004.
- Sancar, Asli. *Ottoman Women: Myth and Reality*. Somerset, New Jersey: The Light, 2007.
- Sehnaoui, Nada. *L'occidentalisation De La Vie Quotidienne À Beyrouth, 1860-1914*. [Beirut]: Editions Dar An-Nahar, 2002.
- Vincent, Marvin R., Howard Crosby, et al. *The Church at Home and Abroad*. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Education and Sabbath School Work, 1887.
- Zandi-Sayek, Sibel. "Orchestrating Difference, Performing Identity: Urban Space and Public Rituals in Nineteenth-Century Izmir," in *Hybrid Urbanism: On the Identity Discourse and the Built Environment*, edited by Nezar AlSayyad (Praeger Publisher, 2001): 42-66.
- Zako, Reem. "The Power of the Veil: Gender Inequality in the Domestic Setting of Traditional Courtyard Houses" in *Courtyard Housing: Past, Present, and Future*, ed. Brian Edwards, Magda Sibley, Mohamad Hakmi, and Peter Land. Abingdon: Taylor and Francis, 2006.

List of Illustrations

- Figure 1: Panorama of the south of the old town of Beirut taken from the clocktower of the Grand Serail. Source: Debbas, *Beirut*.
- Figure 2: Sursock house. Lebanon/Beirut, 1930 – 1940, Yvonne Sursock Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation.
- Figure 3: Sursock house. Lebanon/Beirut, 1930 – 1940, Yvonne Sursock Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation.
- Figure 4: Caroline el Khoury (left) with her daughter Hélène and daughter-in-law Laure. Lebanon/Furn el Chebbak, 1920, Fouad el Khoury Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation.
- Figure 5: Interior of Dr. Hyppolyte de Brun's house, c. 1900, Zokak el-Blat, Beirut, Source: Debbas, *Photographes*, 156.
- Figure 6: Interior of Antoine Peretié's house, c. 1860, Source: Debbas, *Photographes*, 157.
- Figure 7: The consul Bentivoglio and his guests in the salon of the French consulate, c. 1860-1861. Source: Debbas, *Photographes*, 11.
- Figure 8: House Assem Salaam, Beirut, Source: Ragette, *Architecture*, 194.
- Figure 9: House Itani, Beirut, Source: Ragette, *Architecture*, 113.
- Figure 10: Grand Serail at the turn of the 20th century, Wikipedia, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Grand_serail_solidere_6.jpg
- Figure 11: Workers doing road construction in Zokak el-Blat (Qasr Mukhayyesh in background), Lebanon/Beirut, 1920, Aziz Zabbal, Roberte Zabba Sawaya Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation
- Figure 12: Plan of Qasr Béchara el-Khoury, Zokak el-Blat, Beirut, Source: Gebhart, *History*, 120.
- Figure 13: Robert Mouad Museum
- Figure 14: Members of a Health association against tuberculosis - Alice Sabbag standing under the cross. Lebanon/Beirut, 1920 – 1930, Assad Elias Dakouny, Elie-Pierre Sabbag Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation
- Figure 15: Sewing workshop. Lebanon/Beirut, 1920, Berbari, Chadia Najjar, Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation
- Figure 16: Sewing workshop. Lebanon/Beirut, 1910 – 1920, Abraham Guiragossian, Omar el Daouk Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation
- Figure 17: Lebanon/Beirut, 1910 – 1920, Abraham Guiragossian, Omar el Daouk Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation

Illustrations

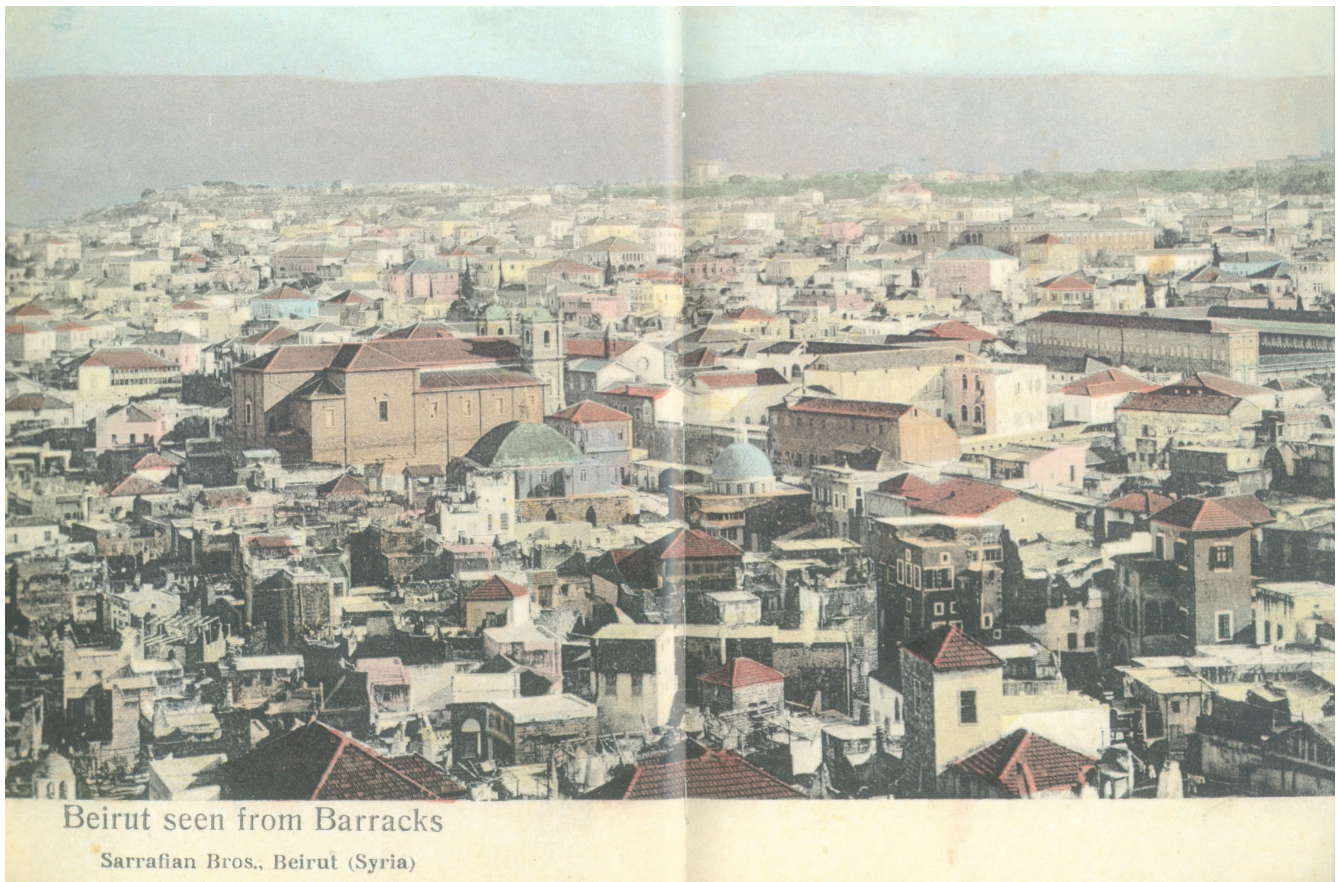


Figure 1: Panorama of the south of the old town of Beirut taken from the clocktower of the Grand Serail. Source: Debbas, *Beirut*.



Figure 2: Sursock house. Lebanon/Beirut, 1930 – 1940, Yvonne Sursock Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation.



Figure 3: Sursock house. Lebanon/Beirut, 1930 – 1940, Yvonne Sursock Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation.



Figure 4: Caroline el Khoury (left) with her daughter Hélène and daughter-in-law Laure. Lebanon/Furn el Chebbak, 1920, Fouad el Khoury Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation.



Figure 5: Interior of Dr. Hyppolyte de Brun's house, c. 1900, Zokak el-Blat, Beirut, Source: Debbas, *Photographes*, 156.



Figure 6: Interior of Antoine Peretié's house, c. 1860, Source: Debbas, *Photographes*, 157.

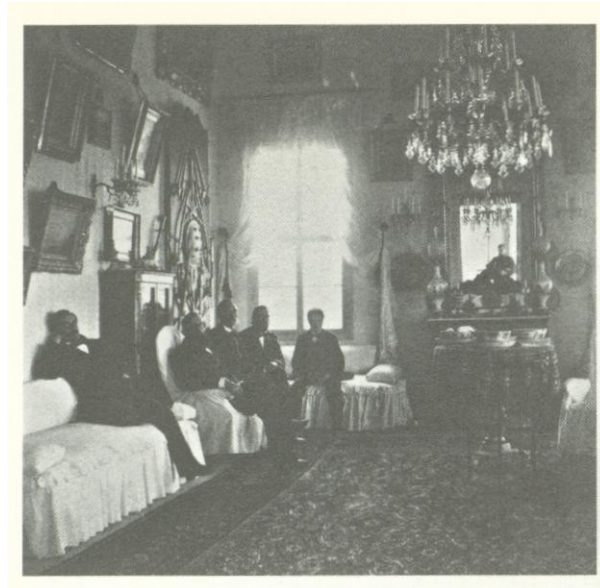


Figure 7: The consul Bentivoglio and his guests in the salon of the French consulate, c. 1860-1861.
Source: Debbas, *Photographies*, 11.

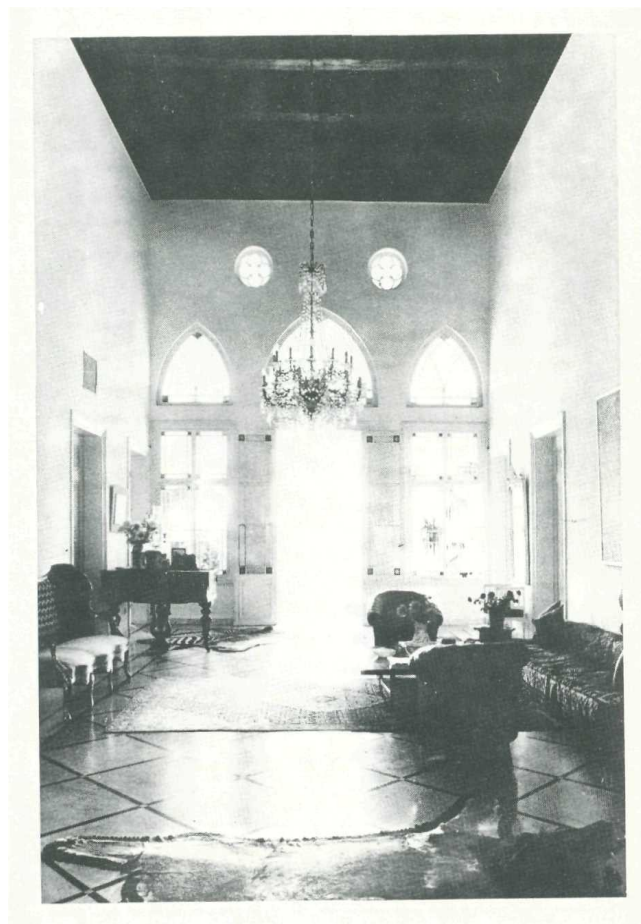
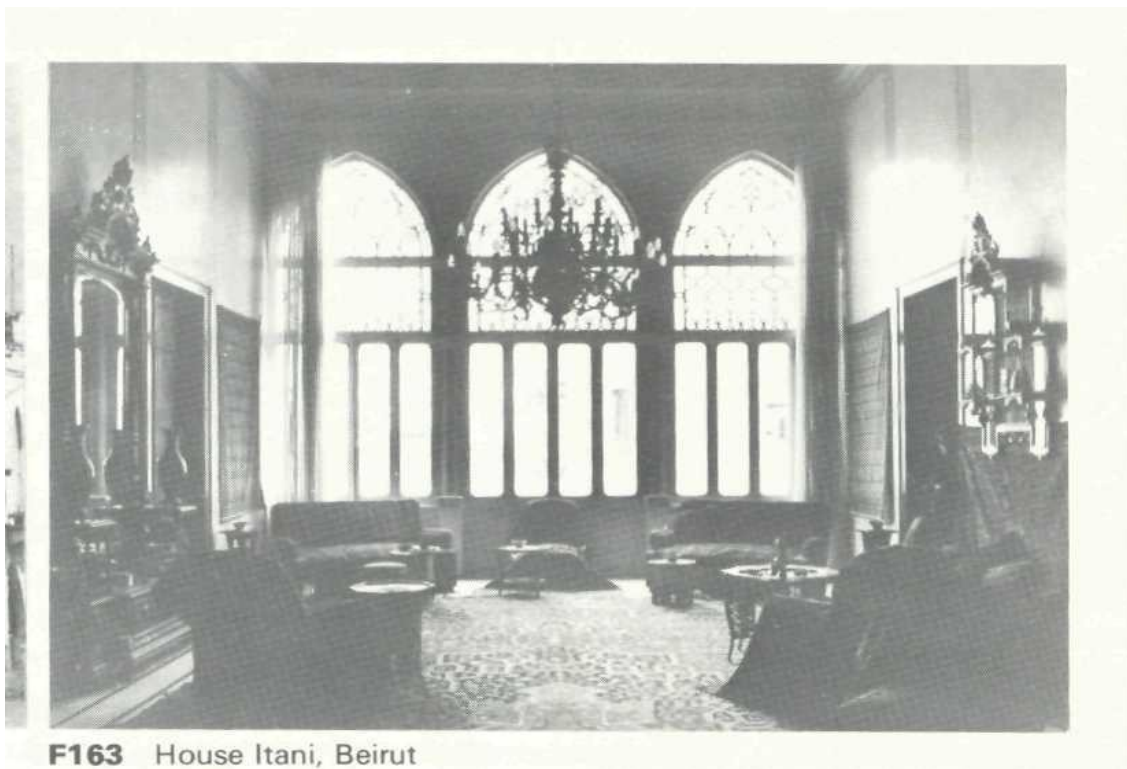


Figure 8: House Assem Salaam, Beirut, Source: Ragette, *Architecture*, 194.



F163 House Itani, Beirut

Figure 9: House Itani, Beirut, Source: Ragette, *Architecture*, 113.



Figure 10: Grand Serail at the turn of the 20th century, Wikipedia,
http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Grand_serail_solidere_6.jpg



Figure 11: Workers doing road construction in Zokak el-Blat (Qasr Mukhayyesh in background), Lebanon/Beirut, 1920, Aziz Zabbal, Roberte Zabba Sawaya Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation

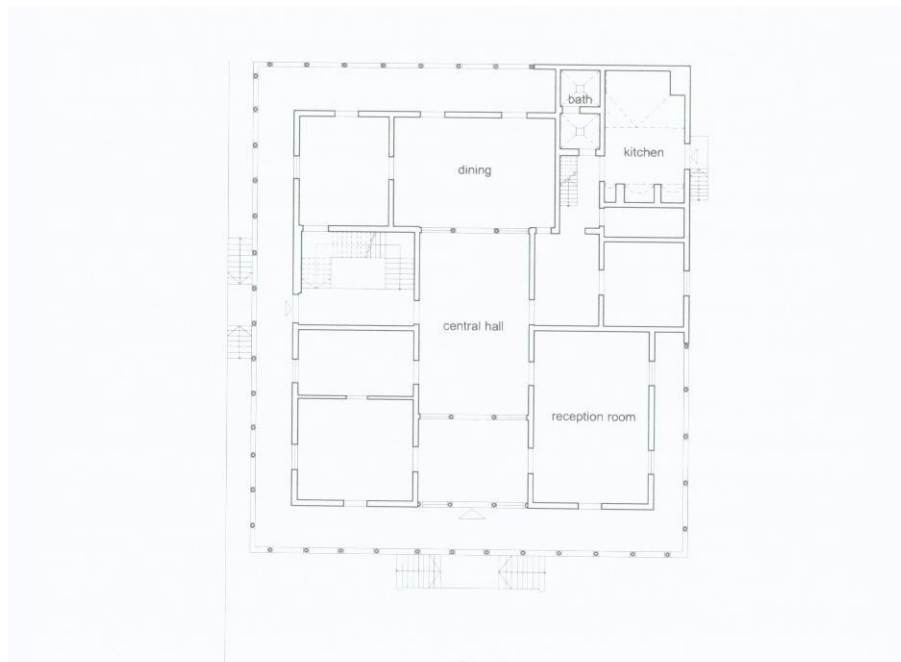


Figure 12: Plan of Qasr Béchara el-Khoury, Zokak el-Blat, Beirut, Source: Gebhart, *History*, 120.



Figure 13: Robert Mouad Museum



Figure 14: Members of a Health association against tuberculosis - Alice Sabbag standing under the cross. Lebanon/Beirut, 1920 – 1930, Assad Elias Dakouny, Elie-Pierre Sabbag Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation



Figure 15: Sewing workshop. Lebanon/Beirut, 1920, Berbari, Chadia Najjar, Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation



Figure 16: Sewing workshop. Lebanon/Beirut, 1910 – 1920, Abraham Guiragossian, Omar el Daouk Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation.



Figure 17: Lebanon/Beirut, 1910 – 1920, Abraham Guiragossian, Omar el Daouk Collection, Copyright © Arab Image Foundation